

## HEALTHY FORESTS

Mr. DOMENIC. Mr. President, an article from today's Los Angeles Times titled "Fire Threat is Red-Hot in Parched West," outlines the threat wildfire poses to millions of acres of dense forests. The administration estimates that 190 million acres of forests are at risk for wildfire this summer. That threat is particularly ominous in the West, where years of drought have left our forests tinder dry. The Los Angeles Times notes that public opposition to forest thinning is waning because the public understands the relationship between dense forests and devastating fires. I applaud this public awareness and the growing public support for President Bush's Healthy Forest Initiative.

I congratulate President Bush for his vision and leadership in creating the Healthy Forest Initiative. His remarks today precisely outlined the crisis and proposed the right solution. Congress must act swiftly to rescue our national forests from years of neglect and mismanagement.

Next month, Senator CRAIG and I will introduce legislation that reflects the priorities of the Healthy Forest Initiative as well as the priorities of the bipartisan House forest management bill.

In the last decade, we have seen endemic litigation cause management paralysis in the Forest Service. This has cost us lives, communities and nearly 30 million acres of once beautiful forests—all lost needlessly to fire. I share President Bush's commitment to return to wise and proactive managing our forests to protect our environment and our rural communities.

I ask unanimous consent to print the article I referred to in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Los Angeles Times, May 20, 2003]

FIRE THREAT IS RED-HOT IN PARCHED WEST  
(By Tom Gorman)

ZION NATIONAL PARK, UTAH.—Park ranger David Eaker walks through a field thick with grass as tall as his waist and deceptive in its greenery.

Don't think for a minute, he says, that the drought is over and the risk of fire has decreased in the West.

Spring rains here and elsewhere have nourished fresh growth, belying the continuing, deep effects of the drought. For the last three years, Zion has been too dry even for grass, and now long-dormant grass seeds have sprouted across meadows and mesas.

"But this will all be brown by late June or early July," Eaker said, "and when it dries out, it will be nothing but fine fuel."

If the grass ignites, whether from a tourist's cigarette in Zion Canyon or by lightning strikes in the upper reaches of the vermilion-streaked sandstone mountains, the brittle ponderosa and pinyon pines and junipers will burst into flames.

Last summer, fires burned 7.1 million acres and 815 homes and other structures, mostly in the West. Zion escaped with eight small fires, scorching only 18 acres.

With parched forests and weather conditions that are expected to remain dry and hot, fire officials are braced for another dan-

gerous season of wildfires. Eaker's park is almost dead center in the region where the drought will persist, according to projections issued Thursday by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's Climate Prediction Center.

The forecast through August shows that the drought, which began in 1999, may worsen from southern Idaho and southwestern Wyoming southward to the Mexican border. Some of the regions last summer experienced the driest months in recorded history, with trees drier than kiln-dried lumber.

Ed O'Lenic, senior meteorologist at the Climate Prediction Center, said heavier-than-normal rainfall is expected in late July and August across southern Nevada, Arizona, southern Utah, western Colorado and much of New Mexico. Still, he said, there won't be enough rain to erase the ravages caused by three years of sustained drought.

While the coastline areas from San Diego to Seattle are drought-free, conditions change rapidly within miles and remain bleak across entire states. In woodlands from the San Bernardino Mountains to the high desert of Santa Fe, N.M., hundreds of thousands of acres of ponderosa and pinyon pine—the most prevalent trees of the arid West—are dead or dying, weakened first by a lack of moisture and then by burrowing insects.

"Even if we get above-normal rainfall, we may still see extreme fire behavior," said Tom Wordell, wildland fire analyst for the U.S. Forest Service. Computer modeling, he said, predicts that fire will spread at twice the normal rate among the weakened trees.

A key to firefighting is anticipating where fires will break out and placing personnel and equipment in the region ahead of time, said Kim Christensen, who coordinates firefighting logistics at the National Interagency Fire Center in Boise, Idaho.

The fire center predicts wildfires by charting which forests are the densest because they have burned the least in recent years, analyzing the moisture content of the most flammable trees and brush, and monitoring weather fronts that may spawn lightning-laced thunderstorms.

A handful of firefighters can be assigned to areas of advancing lightning storms and, in the most vulnerable areas, hundreds of firefighters and air tankers, managed by a military-like command structure, can be positioned for a quick response. About 99 percent of fires are extinguished by the first firefighters on the scene, officials said.

Last year at this time, when big fires already were burning in New Mexico and Arizona, thousands of firefighters were flown to a staging area in Albuquerque, cutting response time by several days.

On July 31, the busiest day of last year's fire season, 31 large blazes were burning across the nation, 148 new fires erupted and fire bosses had to decide where to dispatch 28,000 wildland firefighters, 1,205 engines, 30 air tankers and 188 helicopters.

Because this year's fire season has started more slowly, air tankers have been sent only to Alaska and Minnesota, where current weather conditions make them more susceptible to wildfires.

In another effort to reduce fires, foresters throughout the country, in line with the 2-year-old National Fire Plan, are thinning woods. Most of last summer's worst fires gorged on forests overgrown with small trees and brush because of a decades-long national policy to extinguish fires as quickly as possible. Had fires been allowed to burn in previous years, experts concede, those forests would have provided less fuel for subsequent fires.

Some environmental groups have filed lawsuits to block forest thinning, and neigh-

boring communities have complained about the smoke of prescribed fires. But public opposition is waning because "there's a much broader awareness of the relationship between overly dense forests and large, difficult-to-control fires," said Tim Hartzell, who heads the wildland fire coordination office for the National Park Service.

"Our approach is very surgical, targeting the highest-priority areas, especially in terms of preventing a fire from roaring into a town," he said.

Fire officials have identified about 190 million acres of federal land, mostly in the West, that are considered at high risk for catastrophic blazes this summer. Of that, 2.4 million acres were thinned last year and an additional 1.4 million acres have been thinned so far this year, said Corbin Newman, who coordinates the National Fire Plan for the U.S. Forest Service.

Crews thin specific areas in forests where the spread of fire can best be slowed, he said, with greater attention to areas near residential development or areas that are critical for watershed and wildlife habitat.

Fiercely burning fires are only one outgrowth of the drought. Farmers have less water for crops, and with hay and alfalfa production retarded, cattlemen are supplementing feed for their breeding stock with federal-surplus powdered milk. Environmentalists from Northern California's Klamath Basin to New Mexico's Rio Grande want water released from reservoirs to sustain endangered fish, at the expense of farmers and urban dwellers complaining of water restrictions.

In Colorado, a late-winter snowstorm has allowed Boulder to lift water restrictions, but in nearby Aurora, which relies on a different watershed, there is a continuing prohibition against the planting of sod, restrictions on new developments and limits to landscape watering.

"We didn't get in the drought in a year and we won't get out of it in a year," said Jack Byers, deputy state engineer for the Colorado Division of Water Resources.

The Western Governors' Assn. pushed unsuccessfully last year for Congress to assign a federal agency to oversee drought planning and response. New legislation will be reintroduced in coming weeks, said Nebraska Gov. Mike Johanns.

"Drought is every bit as significant a natural disaster as a tornado, hurricane or flood," Johanns said. "But federal policy in this area has been very hit-and-miss. We need to focus the best science available on predicting drought and in planning strategies to respond to it."

Politics aside, park ranger Eaker is wrestling with realities. Crews at Zion, in southwestern Utah, are thinning trees near park employee residences, and firefighters remain alert to thunderheads that may unleash lightning.

"Last year at this time the flow of water through our fork of the Virgin River was 5% of normal," he said.

"It's now flowing at 40% normal, but soil moisture is still low, and now we have more grass fuel than we've seen in years. Our anxiety about fire is as high as ever."

#### REMEMBERING FORMER SENATOR RUSSELL LONG

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to one of the greatest Senators to have ever served in this body, the late Senator Russell Long. Born in 1918, Russell Long came from a long line of Louisiana political elites. From the beginning of his career

as a public servant, Russell wanted to distinguish his career from that of his father and to make his own mark. No doubt, his distinguished leadership and passion for serving people allowed him to create a legacy that will be remembered by the people of Louisiana and this Nation for a long time to come. Although he is no longer with us, the legacy of his work and the relationships he fostered will live on forever.

For 38 years, Russell Long engaged in the debate of this Chamber. While he was a loyal Democrat, Russell always believed in putting principle above politics. His long list of accomplishments is a testament to that value. His Earned Income Tax Credit, EITC, has proven time and time again to be one of the most effective methods for helping low-income workers stay off of welfare. Every year, the EITC helps millions of Americans raise themselves out of poverty. Similarly, his efforts to expand Social Security to include coverage for the disabled have saved tens of millions of lives over the past 50 years. These are but a few of the many ways that Russell used his vast knowledge of the Tax Code and his position as Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee to champion the poor and downtrodden.

Russell Long will not only be remembered for his incredible intelligence, but also for his kind, jovial manner. Always ready with a quick story or a witty one-liner, Russell was well known for trying to ease tensions during difficult debates. His calm presence was a unifying force that could negotiate both sides of an issue fairly and respectfully. His frequent practice of wrapping his arm around a colleague and pulling his colleague so close that he could whisper in his ear, helped to keep his friends abundant and his enemies rare. Everyone liked and respected Russell; few public servants can claim such a distinction.

In my 23 years of public service, I cannot count how many times I have looked to him as an example. Russell Long set a benchmark for service to the people of our State—a benchmark we all still strive to meet today. I challenge my colleagues to honor his memory and the spirit of bipartisanship his career embodied. What mattered to Russell was that justice was served and the policies put forward by the U.S. Senate were both equitable and fair. Faced with a growing deficit and an ongoing war on terrorism, these principles are now more important than ever.

I end my remarks with words from the eulogy delivered by my predecessor and Russell's colleague, former Senator J. Bennett Johnston, at Russell's funeral:

Eighty-four years ago, Russell Long entered this life as Huey P. Long Junior. The legendary kingfish thought better of it shortly after and renamed him Russell, and said, "that boy has to make a name for himself." And what a name he made. He served 38 years in the U.S. Senate, 16 of those years as the chairman of the Senate Finance Com-

mittee, longer continuous service in that position than anybody else in the history of the U.S. Senate.

President-elect Jimmy Carter used to say that he was sent to Washington to run the country and got there and found out Russell Long was already running it. Jimmy Carter may have been exaggerating, but he wasn't exaggerating by very much.

Russell Long understood that with the tax code we can make water run up hill, and for those who are thirsty and in need that was a great phenomenon for Russell Long to be able to perform, and this State and this Nation for decidedly better because of it.

His legislative victories are legend. If Russell didn't invent bipartisanship he certainly perfected the art. All of the presidents with whom he served had both respect and affection, and occasionally consternation, with Russell.

He had a legendary relationship with LBJ. When LBJ had a provision he wanted to pass in regards to agricultural aid to India, Russell said I can't help you, I can't help you, I am against it. Well, LBJ's top aide Bill Moyers called back in a little while and said, "Why don't you come by the White House this evening, just a quiet dinner." And Russell said, "I'm glad to go by the White House, the president is my friend, but I do not want to talk about agricultural aid to India." And Bill said, "Well, that's a deal." So they were sitting in the family room after dinner, just the three of them in their rocking chairs, and after a couple of hours Russell got up to go home, and the president said, "Now one more thing," and Russell's eyes shot through him and LBJ said to him, "You know that fifth circuit judge from Louisiana you recommended. We'll, we've got a candidate from Texas who's pretty good, too." And nothing else was said. You know Texas and Louisiana share the fifth circuit. Well the next morning Russell told his staff, "Call Bill Moyers, tell him we have an understanding."

Nixon called him the partisan of principle, and indeed he was. But he had a few characteristics which I think are neat. He had a fifth gear he could slip into legislatively. He knew when to hold 'em, when to fold 'em, when to bring 'em up for a vote, when the time was right, what arguments would appeal. And it was an amazing thing to watch. One of his most enduring characteristics was his sense of humor.

Russell was always popular with people but he never hesitated to go along with something unpopular when it was a matter of principle. He voted for the Panama Canal because it was a matter of principle. Russell Long had a side that was unknown to the public. Always he was up. He was the most fun person to be with. Anywhere it was fun to be with Russell Long. But he was also sweet and gentle. My 16 years serving as Russell's colleague are among the most pleasant memories of my life.

He's a legend. A friend. A statesman. He will always be bright and shining within us.

Bennett's words about Russell are so true. Russell's abilities as a Senator are legendary. His passing is a tremendous loss, but his service in the U.S. Senate was a great gift to this body, the State of Louisiana, and the entire country.

I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD an excerpt from his official obituary and two articles on his life from the Baton Rouge Advocate.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Baton Rouge Advocate, May 13, 2003]

#### RUSSELL B. LONG, LEGACY TO POWER

Russell B. Long had twice as long on this Earth as his father, who died at 42 by an assassin's hand. Huey P. Long was one of the most controversial men in America, and there were many who did not mourn his passing.

His oldest son will be buried today in Baton Rouge amid real grief at his passing last week, an with great respect for his accomplishments.

It was certainly not that Russell Long failed to be involved in the great battles of his day. He was sent to the U.S. Senate in 1948, succeeding John H. Overton, and served until he retired and was replaced in the 1986 election by John Breaux, who has held the seat since.

During his 38 years in the Senate, Long held leadership positions and chaired the Finance Committee, and was intimately involved in the most momentous issues facing the nation. He served on equal terms with giants such as Lyndon B. Johnson at the apex of the Senate's power in American government.

But if Long moved all his life among the great, he distinguished himself not by emulating his father's colorful oratory but by mastering the governing process. There were probably few more humble and self-effacing men in Washington life, and he made lifelong friends of many of those with whom he served.

Nevertheless, his legislative skills became legend. He had a fund of Uncle Earl stories to fall back on, but as often as not he was buying time, waiting for the right moment to introduce a skillfully drawn amendment or to strike the deal that would advance both a piece of legislation and Louisiana's interests.

He could judge the opportune time to strike in the Senate, but he also could be astutely tone-deaf. There is a famous story about President Kennedy lobbying Long for a vote, and Long pretending not to hear and continuing to bring up the subject of Fort Polk. The president got the message: The senator would help the president if the president would help the senator protect the military installation in Long's home state.

Long was powerful and used his position to bring jobs and projects to Louisiana. No one more diligently protected the oil industry, and shrugged off accusations that he was protecting his own substantial oil and gas properties. If he thought the depletion allowance was good for Louisiana, it would remain in law—and it did, probably too long. But it had a friend in the Senate, and that was Russell Long.

Long's aide and biographer, Bob Mann, titled his book "Legacy to Power." The power was manifest, but Long's role as the legacy of his populist father often was questioned in years when liberal Democrats saw Long as too prone to support corporate interests.

It is true that he became more conservative over time. But many of Long's greatest legislative accomplishments were not for oil and gas, or other business interests. They were for Social Security and Medicare, expanding the role of government in protecting poor people and the elderly from privation.

In retirement and not often in the news in his later years, Long's own legacy might not be fully appreciated in the humble homes that he worked to protect and make whole against the vicissitudes of life.

He proved himself worthy of his father's best ideals.

[From the Baton Rouge Advocate, May 13, 2003]

LONG BROUGHT WISDOM, JOY TO D.C. POLITICS  
(By Joan McKinney)

Russell Long is being buried today. He's been gone from the U.S. Senate for 17 years. If you are young or new to Louisiana—oh, how unlucky you are to have missed him.

In the three days since his death, there's been every conceivable claim about Long's importance to the politics and economic life of Louisiana, and the impact he had—and still has—on everybody in the taxpaying workplace, from the richest corporate officer to the poorest wage earner.

Believe the claims. They're true.

But what Long did to, and with, the federal tax code as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee—as huge as that work was—that alone would not account for the way we remember him. We remember him in Washington with alternating awe and amusement. Respect and laughter. What finer things could anyone leave behind?

The most fabulous things about Long were, first and foremost, his awesome brilliance, and, second, his . . . his what? The whole hilarious package of him: the Uncle Earl stories; the Southernisms; the get-to-the-heart of it one liners; the way he'd go red in the face and flail his arms around when he spoke on the Senate floor and go worked up—which was just about any time he gave a floor speech.

There was also the body bend. Long would start that arm a-flailing. Maybe he'd pump a fist in the air. Then he'd start pumping both arms up and down. Soon, he'd be pumping so hard that he'd bend at the waist.

Like the chicken and the egg, who knows what came first—the body bend or the baggy pants? Long was renowned for those pants.

Rafael Bermudez, a former Long aide living in Baton Rouge, tells a story of accompanying Long on a shopping trip. The senator, he said, pulled a huge pair of pants off the rack, put them on, went to a full-length mirror, and bent over to make sure the pants were still comfortable in the toe-touching position.

Indeed, Long was one of the Senate's greatest entertainers. Yet it was hard to quote him. He would complete a virtuoso performance, win every showdown in every amendment—and you'd go back to your notes, and there'd be only fragments. Long regularly dispensed with sentence structure. Free-as-sociating ideas and concepts would rush out of him, and it was obvious that his nimble mind was racing way ahead of his tongue. Often he'd be having so much fun that he'd start squeaking and chortling, and he couldn't complete the thought.

And he'd stutter. Or mumble.

Cheryl Arvidson, a former news bureau chief and wire service reporter, said this week, "He often mumbled very badly, deliberately at times I think."

She recalled that Steve Gerstel, UPI's legendary Senate chief, ordered her to closely monitor the Senate whenever it was nearing adjournment, and "especially when Russell Long walked out on the floor." Gerstel had warned that, "Russell will walk out, belch, and we'll have an entirely new tax code."

Long's rambling speech pattern was a poor indicator of his coherent thought process. Long knew the most arcane of Senate rules and was a genius at parliamentary maneuver. He seemed to have total recall of the tax code and all IRS regulations interpreting it.

In my three decades of reporting, Long is the only politician whose intellect so intimidated me that I studied late at night for his occasional briefings with the Louisiana press corps. Any decent reporter tries to be well-grounded for any interview. With Russell

Long, it was more like panic cramming for a college exam. You wanted the questions to do justice to the intellect.

And you didn't want to be snookered. Russell Long could snooker you.

Everybody knew that a Long tax bill would be chock-full of provisions benefiting one or other Louisiana corporate interest. Sugar and oil and gas were particular favorites, but no Louisiana business was too insignificant for a tax break.

Usually, these things were hidden in the fine print and went undiscovered until after the bill had passed. A former reporter, Eileen Shanahan, found one of these provisions while a Long tax bill was still pending, and she wrote about it in *The New York Times*—also explaining that the provision could enhance the value of Long's own oil and gas holdings.

The Senator made a floor speech and (memory fails a little), he either killed the provision or modified it to exclude his family's interests. When Shanahan next came into the Senate Press Gallery, she got an ovation from reporter colleagues. Not being snookered by Russell Long was that rare.

The Senator was unrepentant about legislation to help the industry that made him rich. Anything that helped oil and gas would help the Louisiana economy, he said.

Long said that he was proudest of authoring two tax code provisions for wage earners. The first was the Earned Income Tax Credit that pays cash to people who work but make too little money to pay federal income taxes. If the federal government subsidized welfare recipients who weren't employed, it should also subsidize the "working poor" so that welfare was not more generous than employment, Long said.

His other pride was the Employee Stock Ownership Plan. ESOP gives companies a tax break for helping employees buy shares of company ownership.

Long was a Democrat, but—EITC and ESOP, notwithstanding—liberals didn't find much to love about his work. He was a defense hawk. He seldom met an environmental regulation that he liked, especially one that curbed the practices of oil and gas or agriculture. He seldom met a public works project that he disliked. Highways, channel dredgings, flood control—he supported them all.

But Long wasn't a conservative ideologue, either. Sometimes he was a tax-cutter. But he also taxed-and-spent with the most ardent liberal.

Somebody had to pay for Social Security and Medicare, he thought. And he'd noticed that many anti-taxers and anti-government business people lined up for government contracts, or for bailouts when things went bad. Long ridiculed that mind-set, reciting this ditty so often it should be chanted at his funeral: "Don't tax me. Don't tax thee. Tax that fella behind the tree."

My favorite Long body language was the neck wrap. He'd throw out an arm, wrap it all the way around somebody's neck, and pull 'em close to whisper in an ear. Sometimes, it was a combination move—neck wrap followed by bear hug.

Years ago, former Vice President and late Sen. Hubert Humphrey, D-Minn. visited the Senate floor. He was dying of cancer, and everybody knew that this was his goodbye. Long went to Humphrey and gave him the combination. If there was a dry eye in the chamber, it wasn't mine. If anybody ever practiced the Joy of Politics, it was Long. Today's bitter politics could sorely use the palm of his joy.

Hopefully, *The Advocate* adequately reported during the years on the facts of Long's legislating. My own journalism failed him on a larger score. You just could not

capture on the written page the twinkle in the man's eye.

SENATOR RUSSELL B. LONG,

Former Senator Russell Billiu Long, who served Louisiana in the United States Senate for 38 years, died on Friday, May 9, 2003, in Washington, DC. He was 84 years old. The son of Huey Pierce Long and Rose McConnell Long, he was born in Shreveport on November 3, 1918. He attended public schools in Shreveport, Baton Rouge, and New Orleans and graduated from Louisiana State University at Baton Rouge in 1939 and from its law school in 1942. In 1938, he was elected LSU's Student Body President. At LSU, he was a member of Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternity. He was admitted to the Louisiana Bar in 1942 and began practicing law in Baton Rouge in 1946. During the Second World War, he volunteered for and served in the United States Navy from June 1942 until discharged as a lieutenant in December 1945. As the commander of an LCT (landing craft tank) vessel, he participated in Allied invasions of North Africa, Sicily, Italy, and Southern France. For his service to the United States of America, he was awarded four Battle Stars.

He served as special counsel to Louisiana Governor Earl K. Long in 1948. On November 2, 1948—the day before his 30th birthday—he was elected to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy created by the death of Senator John H. Overton and took office on December 31, 1948. By large margins, the people of Louisiana reelected him to the Senate in 1950, 1956, 1962, 1968, 1974, and again in 1980. He retired from office on January 3, 1987, at the end of his seventh term.

He served as the Senate's Democratic Whip, or assistant majority leader, from 1956 to 1969. During his years in the Senate, he served on several committees, including Finance, Armed Services, Foreign Relations, Commerce, Science and Transportation, Joint Committee on Taxation, and Select Committee on Ethics. He was chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance from 1965 to 1981. He served as co-chairman of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation from 1965 to 1967 and as chairman of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation from 1967 to 1977.

He was a fierce advocate of the interests of Louisiana and its people. A tireless and effective champion for the poor, the elderly and average workers, he was father of Employee Stock Ownership Plans; these plans have given millions of American workers a meaningful stake in the companies for which they work. In 1956, he authored the first major expansion of the Social Security system to include benefits for the disabled. He was a primary architect of the Medicare system, creator of the Earned Income Tax Credit (the cornerstone of America's anti-poverty programs), and the author of public financing of presidential campaigns.

After his retirement from the Senate, he practiced law in Baton Rouge and Washington, D.C. Also, he served on the boards of directors of several corporations: the New York Stock Exchange, Metropolitan Life, Lowe's Companies, and the Louisiana Land and Exploration Company.

He is survived by his wife Carolyn Bason Long of Washington, D.C.; two daughters, Rita Katherine "Kay" Long of Baton Rouge, and Pamela Long Wofford and son-in-law Douglas Lloyd Wofford of Indio Hills, California; one brother, Palmer Reid Long, and his wife, Louene Long of Shreveport; and one sister, Rose Long McFarland, of Boulder, Colorado.

Also surviving are his four grandchildren, Audra McCardell Snider and husband Jeremy

Snider of Rockville, Maryland, Katherine Barrett Mosely, Russell Long Mosely and wife Erin Saporito Mosely, and Kirk Meredith Mosely, all of Baton Rouge. Nieces and nephews include Marsha McFarland Budz of Boulder, Colorado, Terry McFarland Fluke of Gallatin Gateway, Montana, Rory Scott McFarland of Boulder, Palmer Reid Long Jr. of Shreveport, Laura Long Lubin of Los Angeles, Mr. and Mrs. John J. Burke of Morganton, North Carolina, Clark Bason of North Hollywood, California, W.H. Bason, Jr. of Martinsville, Virginia, Sally Bason and Sarah Bason of Reidsville, North Carolina, Mrs. William Bason of St. Mary's, Georgia, Mr. and Mrs. John J. Burke, Jr. of Chattanooga, Tennessee, and Carolyn Cumming of Bethesda, Maryland. He was preceded in death by his parents Huey Pierce Long and Rose McConnell Long.

#### WINNING THE PEACE IN IRAQ

Mr. EDWARDS. Over a month ago, our military achieved an impressive victory in Iraq—a victory earned by the brave men and women of our Armed Forces, and a victory that serves as a testament to the bipartisan commitment to ensuring that our military remains the best in the world. Through these efforts, we removed a brutal regime and helped liberate a people.

This victory also brought an enormous responsibility upon the United States: to help the Iraqi people rebuild their lives in peace and prosperity. Meeting this challenge is a test of our leadership, a test of our commitment and resolve, and a test of our willingness to engage with the rest of the world.

Unfortunately, the Bush administration has put us on a course to fail these tests. Since that statue of Saddam Hussein came crashing down, America's postwar policy has been confused and chaotic. The American-led civil administration is understaffed, under-equipped and unprepared. Already many of its senior leaders have come and gone. The international community has expressed a willingness to help, but has been kept on the sidelines. Baghdad and other key cities remain unsafe. There has been widespread looting of hospitals, businesses, museums, and homes. Mass gravesites have not been protected. Refugees are fleeing to neighboring countries like Jordan. Radical clerics have begun to fill the power vacuum. Saddam Hussein and many of his senior henchmen are still at large. And most disturbing, nuclear, chemical and biological facilities have been left unprotected and have been ransacked—not only destroying possible evidence about Saddam's weapons of mass destruction, but presenting a real threat that such materials will end up in the hands of terrorists.

Continuing on this path not only hurts the Iraqi people, who have suffered enough and deserve better, but it squanders all that our military achieved in Iraq, threatens our security, and undermines our standing in the world.

I am concerned that we are about to repeat the same mistakes we have

made in Afghanistan, where this administration's efforts to win the peace have been ineffective and weak. The lack of American leadership has left Afghanistan dangerously unstable. We cannot make the same mistake in Iraq.

Last fall, many of us who supported the use of military force in Iraq warned President Bush about this problem. We argued that the United States needed to put the same amount of energy, effort, and creativity into planning for what to do after Saddam was gone.

We supported the use of force to ensure that Iraq complied with its commitments to the international community. But we also called on the President to carefully plan for a new Iraq—a prosperous democracy at peace with itself and its neighbors.

The President obviously did not heed our advice. The administration did not make adequate plans for the situation which now threatens the success of our mission in Iraq—and in some instances, it apparently did not plan at all. It now tries to explain away its failures as the “untidy” realities of postwar Iraq. Rather than make excuses, the administration must act before it undermines all that we have accomplished.

Because the administration failed to anticipate the consequences of victory, we now face the prospect of an Iraq that descends into chaos. We must take action now to stop this.

Almost 6 weeks ago, the day after Baghdad fell to U.S. forces, I outlined four clear and simple principles to guide U.S. policy in postwar Iraq.

First, the U.S. must bring other countries into this effort, as well as institutions like the United Nations and NATO. Including others will not just increase the likelihood of success. It will help create a free Iraqi government with legitimacy and authority in the region and the rest of the world. And by sharing the costs of this massive effort, including others will ease the burdens on the American people.

Second, the U.S. must do more to ensure the safety and security of the Iraqi people. It makes no sense that we did not have enough military forces on the ground to protect critical weapons sites or stop looting from spinning out of control. Clearly, we should have had more forces ready to meet these challenges.

It is good that reinforcements are on the way, but I believe that the best way to deal with this problem now would be to create a multinational peacekeeping force, led by NATO. We all know that many NATO members were deeply divided over the issue of what to do about Iraq. But now that the war is over, I believe that we have an opportunity to reaffirm NATO's importance and relevance—as well as America's commitment to the alliance—by looking for ways to include NATO in providing security today in Iraq.

Third, we have to do better at ensuring that the Iraqi people, not some puppet government, will shape Iraq's future. So far, our efforts to support an open political process have been

unimpressive, raising doubts about our commitment to giving the Iraqi people a voice in the process and a government that reflects their diversity. The administration has not articulated a clear path to help the Iraqi people achieve self-government, preserve basic freedoms, and uphold the rule of law. This process must be seen as legitimate. Therefore we should act now to give the broader international community a role.

Fourth, we have to ensure that the Iraqi people can build a prosperous economy that is theirs alone. Iraq has enormous economic potential, and we have to help the Iraqi people tap into that potential and make clear that the oil is theirs and not for the U.S. or others to exploit. Many of the recent decisions about which companies will help rebuild Iraq have raised doubts around the world about our motives. We need a transparent and open process to guarantee that the awarding of contracts is fair.

While our national interest requires that we make this commitment to help rebuild Iraq, the American people deserve to know how much this is going to cost. This administration has consistently been unclear about the duration and costs of our commitment in a post-Saddam Iraq. We must have a better accounting. How much will it cost the American taxpayer? How much will other countries contribute? What are the signposts for measuring success in a transition to an independent, democratic Iraqi government?

It is in America's national interest to help build an Iraq at peace with itself and its neighbors, because a democratic, tolerant, and accountable Iraq will be a peaceful regional partner. A free Iraq could serve as a model for the entire Arab world. And if done right—with humility, patience, and cooperation—this effort to rebuild Iraq will bring the world together and return America to a place where it is respected and admired.

#### VOTE EXPLANATION

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I regret that I missed last evening's vote on the nomination of Maurice Hicks to be a District Judge for the Western District of Louisiana. My flight from Indianapolis to Washington was cancelled due to mechanical problems with the plane. I would like the record to reflect that had I been present, I would have voted “yea” to confirm Maurice Hicks.

#### ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

##### IN CELEBRATION OF RABBI MARTIN S. WEINER

• Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity to recognize Rabbi Martin S. Weiner, who is retiring after 31 years of dedicated service to the community.

Rabbi Weiner, a San Francisco native, was educated in the city's public